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Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri

Lal Bahadur who had signed the declaration only a few hours before was no more with us. He died of a heart attack on the Soviet soil at 1:20 A. M.

Many were stunned. It was hard to believe. The nation plunged to sorrow. Another great man of peace and negotiations not only of this country but of the world quietly passed away and left us to live in a smaller world. Only eighteen months he headed our country, and within this period we faced serious threats of war and aggression from across our borders and disruption from within. Lal Bahadur, a small man with a great heart, solid determination and resolve, stood like a rock amidst hazards, and led the nation amidst all its throes. He went to Tashkent to kindle new hopes among the mankind, and to give to the strife stricken world a new formula of peace.

Today he is no more with us. The eighteen months he headed the nation will remain as a glorious period of our history. We are left to emulate the ideals for which he lived and died. In this period of grief the "Adivasi" mourns the death of one of India's most illustrious sons and joins with all others of our country and abroad to convey our heartfelt sorrow to Shrimati Shastri and other members of the bereaved family.

Editors

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ADIBASI

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Editorial

DEFENCE-CUM-PRODUCTION ORIENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF BACKWARD CLASSES WELFARE.

The emergency situation created due to the Pakistani and Chinese aggression and its immediate as well as projected impact on Indian economy, pose a challenge to our planners and administrators to reorient the developmental programmes. This requires a good bit of rethinking and revaluation of hitherto accepted ideas and concepts. Such rethinking and revaluation are of supreme importance

in the sphere of social security and have a special relevance for its major programme—the welfare of Backward Classes.

2. Modern wars are total wars. Gone are the days when battles were fought by professional warriors and won by their traditional chivalry while the common man had only to play the role of a spectator. In a modern war

the skill and courage of the armed forces cannot be minimised, but the economic strength and technological equipment of the nation and the morale of the people as a whole are factors which are of as great consequence for victory or defeat. The reorientation of the welfare programme for Backward classes should be based on an appreciation of this situation. The people of India present a diversity which is unparalleled both in history and in the contemporary world. Contradictions based on linguistic, religious and ethnic differences coexist with each other in the Indian society. Therefore, the superstructure on which the morale of the people is to be built is National integration. In view of the present emergency it is absolutely necessary to make all out efforts for achieving National integration and foster a spirit of nationalism and feeling of belonging together among those who stand at the periphery of national consciousness. History has ample evidence to show that under conditions

of stress and strain national integration is snapped at the weakest link. The Backward classes, especially the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute the weakest link in the chain of our national existence. The tribes have been aptly described as "people segregated from the main currents of national life, due to historic reasons". It is true that during the three five year plans some achievement has been registered for the material and social development of the tribal people, but it is true that a great deal yet remains to be done and though we have started the process of bringing the tribal people closer to us, the integration of the tribal society with the larger society of India is not yet an accomplished fact. The Scheduled Castes have also made some progress during the three plans, and no efforts have been spared to fight untouchability out of existence. This has been a programme of radical social reform and like all reformist movements, this has created

social maladjustments which initially accompany such movements. All these bring into focus the acute necessity of working out a thorough scheme of national integration on scientific lines among the Backward population of India.

Food production is a major component of modern war effort. In India, especially, where the consumption needs far outstrip the production efforts, food production is of supreme importance. The development plans for the welfare of Backward Classes should, therefore, be returned to meet the demands of food production.

The Scheduled Castes are the traditional agriculturists of Indian villages. The tribal people have a native knack for producing food under adverse conditions. If the technological and human factors are properly tapped, there is no doubt that the development of the Backward Classes can be transferred into an effective programme of agricultural production. Thus without pruning the welfare of the

Backward Classes, the agricultural production of the country can be substantially increased. This would serve the twin needs of producing more food and making it available to the consumers who need it most and who always become the first victims of food shortage. The tribal people can prove to be excellent fighters. This is borne out by Indian history. Rajput chivalry was mainly based on the prowess of tribal chiefs and their followers. The tribal powers of south and border states have always thwarted the imperial advances of medieval Delhi. As a matter of fact Delhi has always succumbed to the warlike tribal hordes who gradually lost their native dash and courage under the impact of civilized luxury and in their turn were subdued by fresh tribal invasions. The native courage and fighting skill of tribal people should, therefore, be properly harnessed to meet the defence requirements of the country.

All these call for vigorous research activities. The

research programmes of the Tribal Research Institutes also require thorough reorientation. Research should be made more responsive to the defence and production needs of the nation. Research should henceforth be judged

by the actual contribution it makes towards increased production and research workers should be made progressively more responsible for extension and experimentation in the actual field.

The Lanjia Saoras hereafter called Saora are the most backward section of the great Saora tribe who live in the Agency tracts of Ganjam district and in Pottasangi P. S. area of Koraput district in the State of Orissa. They habitate in the Eastern Ghats hill ranges varying from 3,000-4,000 ft. Their population according to 1941 Census was estimated in Ganjam Agency 95,479 and in Koraput 52,518. In 1961 Census the population is 131,000. They are called by this name on account of the manner of putting on their loin-cloth with an end hanging like a tail from the waist. They are also called Maliah (Mal-hill), Jati Saora in different regions. The tribe has been described in the ancient literature as a component of the great Sabara stock who extended from Gupat in the west to the coastal plains of modern Orissa in the east. Cunningham has considered the Bhils also as Sabaras. In Sanskrit Sabara or Savara means a mountaineer barbarian or savage. In fact, the Aryans designated almost all the Jungle tribes as Sabaras.

The Saoras of Orissa owe their importance to a

legend which connects them with Lord Jagannath of Puri. It is said that the Sabara king Viswabasu was worshipping lord Jagannath in his mountain kingdom, an Oriya King could not succeed to persuade him to part with the deity to be installed in the temple at Puri. Then he sent secretly an emissary in disguise who succeeded in transferring the deity to Puri. Authenticity of this legend cannot be documented, but it has its impact on the social and religious life of the people and even today a section of the priests in Jagannath temple are considered to be of Sabara origin.

*Elwin has described the religion of the tribe magnificently in 'Religion of An Indian Tribe', which made them known all over the world. To the students of anthropology and religion, his book opens up a new chapter. Never before the religion of tribes has been studied in such detail. There is hardly any contemporary tribal community who have such elaborate religious organisation, beliefs and rites. Elwin is right in saying that without understanding the religion of the tribe one cannot understand

any other aspect of their life. There is hardly any other contemporary religion where there are so many super-natural beings all functioning, all important, all demanding their rights and exercising their influence over the living beings.

Nevertheless there is another very important aspect of Saora culture which puts the tribe on a unique position in ethnographical map of the world, the absence of "clan" or "sib" in their social structure. A clan or sib consists of blood relations of one side only who are joined into an exogamous unit. A common residence, mystic tie or descent from an animal or plant or material object were stated to be characteristics of a clan. Rivers defined a clan "as an exogamous division of a tribe the members of which are tied together by a belief in common descent, common possession of a totem or habitation of a common territory. Lewis omitted totemism as an integral component of a clan due to its absence in many tribes of America, Africa and Asia. Besides, he dropped common territory as there are instances of a clan spreading over a large area.

3 In Notes and queries of Anthropology, a clan is defined "as a group of persons of both sexes, membership of which is determined by unilateral descent, actual or putative with *ipso facto* obligation of an exclusive kind".

A clan or Sib therefore has the principal function in regulating marriage, inheritance of property and other social, economic and political events like funeral, warfare exchange, barter, etc. In the history of anthropological thought there is special importance of clan or sib. Morgan and Tylor advocated that clan is the primary social organisation of all people while family evolved later. This view of Morgan was adopted by Engels who became one of the founders of Marxism. Hence there rose a controversy on this issue. From the researches among the contemporary backward people it was well established that some of the most primitive tribes like Ornges of Andamans, and Bushmen, Hottentots of Africa, some Eskimo groups do not have clans but they have well organised families as the unit of social organisation.

1. Macdonald & Macdon, Asia Publishing House 1956.

2. Lewis Primitive Society.

3. Royal Anthropological Society.

In this respect the Lanja Saoras of Ganjam and Koraput, who are certainly a real primitive tribe confined to a specific geographical habitat do not have exogamous clans or sibs and associated totemism.

They have families as the unit of social organisation, and Birindas are groups of extended families controlling marriage, inheritance and other social functions.

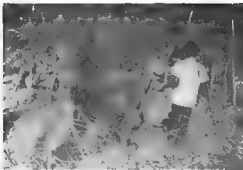
The Gamang of Potta when interviewed stated that Birinda consists of descendants from a common ancestor for 3 to 4 generations. From Sagado it was learnt that not all the descendants of a common ancestor are in one Birinda for all time to come. In course of time some separate and form another Birinda. Enquiries from Parlakimidi agencies showed that the Birinda structure is a loose union of families. In a Birinda there may be twenty to thirty families, or only 3 to 10 families. In Udayagiri agency where Hinduisation has been felt to a greater extent, Birinda is gradually transforming into Gotra, by adopting a Gotra name from Hindu society.

The function of Birinda is clear. Marriage within the Birinda is strictly prohibited. The members stand to each other as brothers and sisters.

"It is highly objectionable for a man to take a woman from the same Birinda" said the Gamang of Patilli. This not only offends living beings but dead too. It may so happen that the two neighbours in a village may belong to two different Birinda. Hence taking a girl from the neighbour's house for marriage is possible, while in different villages there may be members of one Birinda among which matrimony is not possible. The members do not associate any Guardian Angel with the Birinda, and rites connected with plants and animals is not there. Dead ancestors within living memory not supernatural beings are considered to be founders of the Birindas.

The Birinda brotherhood is called upon to participate in the birth and death rites. Not only as visitors but are expected to contribute for expenses which are of course reciprocated. Saoras have a large number of funeral rites out of which first funeral *Ghar* and the second funeral 'Karya' are the most important*. These ceremonies are not only elaborate affairs but drain away a good part of Saora resources as one or more buffaloes are sacrificed. Birinda members have to donate some cash for the sacrificed buffaloes. Well-to-do

*Eliot 1942.

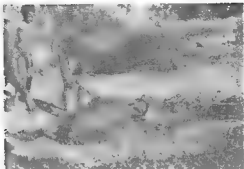


A buffalo being sacrificed by the Lingbo Saora in Guar ceremony

members may also contribute a full animal. All these payments are reciprocated by the receiver to the giver when similar occasion arises in Luso village at the Guar ceremony of Sirpa. Two buffaloes were supplied by his Brinda men of two different villages. One of those villages was of her brother's and the other of her sister's. With proper observance of these ceremonies the deads can only be admitted into the under world of ancestors and Gods.

When someone dies unless the Brinda members inherit his properties. A pancharai of the Brinda brotherhood convened for

this purpose decides who of the members should inherit it. It becomes obligatory for the inheritor to perform the first funeral Guar ceremony for the deceased. It will be worth while to state that in Saora culture a great emphasis is laid on this ceremony. Without the performance of this ceremony there is no peace to the soul of the dead as he cannot be admitted to under world. Such a soul not only becomes source of trouble to a family members but also may turn a menace to the general communal life. As such a soul cannot get a rest among the ancestors of under world, has to move about between the land of the up and



Northern buffaloes in Lamia crematorium

dead, around human habitations and being a epidemics, diseases, pests and man-eating tigers.

Another important aspect is the woman retaining her father's Ritu-pala ceremony area. In different societies it is obligatory for a woman to change to the clan or Gotra of her husband. In a patriarchal society where inheritance is through the father we do not find any incidence of two clans or Gotras within one family. But the Saoras having patrarchy and patrilocal residence permit a woman to retain her parent's Brinda after marriage. After death the members of a woman's

Brinda may demand her dead body to be cremated in their village not in the village of her husband. When it does not become feasible a portion of the ash after cremation is taken to their own cremation ground and ceremonially buried. This is the vital trait through which woman maintains their social position in the Saora Society. Her brothers and sisters belong to her Brinda, as also the children of her brothers, but not of the sisters. Her own children do not belong to her Brinda. Therefore her own children could be married to her brother's children. Cross cousin marriages are therefore common.

Another interesting institution in Saora society is marriage of a step-son and a step-mother. Saoras marry several wives. It may so happen that at the time of death of the father, there may be very young junior wives. There may be grown up sons from senior wives. As these sons and the step-mother belong to different Birinda one of the sons can keep as mistress one of the Young step-mothers on his father's death. Such a marriage is called 'Yavangkoi'. The spirit of the deceased father then admonishes them in dreams and threatens them to cause harm. A proper ceremony is not held. The son then buys a buffalo, two bullocks and a new cloth. The buffalo is ceremonially sacrificed and offered to the spirit of deceased father. In the ceremony one of the older relations act as the dead father. After the ceremony the step-son and his step-mother are recognised as man and wife.

Birinda members are exogamous and observe strictly incest. It was gathered that there are sometimes violations of the incest taboo where somebody develops affairs with another member of opposite sex within a Birinda. On such occasions there is strong social disapproval and the offenders may have to leave their hearth and home. Often they use to run away to the

ice gardens in Assam and do not return to their village during their life time. But such instances are rare. At Manimgai one has kept his sister as mistress and they have issues. They are considered outcasts and do not have normal social intercourse with others.

In a small Saora village there may be members of one Birinda or sometimes two to three Birindas. In big villages there are several Birindas. In Sagado there are nine Birindas among 110 families. In 100 families at Kalakote there are as many as eleven Birindas. When a Tata Birinda has a turn to belong to a village and the Tata members of the Birinda in Patta, another village in neighbourhood, from which they have all come to settle in the present site. In multi-birinda villages there is free mixing of unmarried boys and girls while in mono-birinda village absolute inter-caste inter-caste is not possible, as all the unmarried are agnates. Hence in the former case quite a large number of marriages take place within the village.

Saora memory being short it is difficult to gather genealogy beyond three generations. Besides I had no opportunity to make detail studies on this line in various regions of

Sasura and from the few genealogies collected at Sagado, Rijanta and Taraba it could be found that a Brinda divides and each unit becomes an independent unit with the increase in number of members. A too unwieldy growth could not observe all the regulations and restrictions. That is why it divides. Migration of a Brinda member to another settlement or village also affects the structure. After three generations (or more or less) the migrants cut off social ties with their agnates, though they may refer them as "Sudh" and do not observe the regulations and obligations towards them as own Brinda members like attending Guar and Karpas, etc. in harvest and rain and grains. Marriage restrictions may not be followed except in exceptional cases when some one takes a mate to tea-gardens, or while working as a Gori (servant) in the family of the girl. Then it is argued that the Brinda has already been cut off and no penalty is fixed for the breach. This has happened in case of Pata and Pote, who interloped with a girl Jappa from Tabar Pata, whose families were once upon a time members of one Brinda.

When a group of Sasuras cut another village with a marriage proposal may discuss

in detail as possible genealogy of the members to stress out probabilities of their Brindahood. If no such link can be established beyond three generations, then it is granted that there is either no tie or if any, exists, it can be ignored. This is a pragmatic approach to proceed with negotiations without unnecessarily brooding the same.

Brinda is a democratic force in Sasura society. Its members are all equal in their rights and privileges. No doubt older members have some say but not to any great extent to impose any arbitrary decision on the younger. Brindas are knit about the political and political structure of a village. They all share in the decision of the Guerning and Karpas as well as in religious sacrifices. It has no such function as the Kumbh Mela where all can have access to a particular Soil (area) as their own. In this aspect Sasura Brinda is a close union of members.

Sasuras dread like the Hindus and few other tribes to die nameless. For them life after death in the other world is more important than life in this world. For entry into the underworld of deads, proper ceremonies (Guar and Karpas) have to be performed by the children and other kinsmen of the dead.

Birinda membership is a security against the contingency of one dying issueless. If one dies issueless the Birinda members can claim his properties of the deceased but simultaneously should perform the funeral ceremonies. Besides, Birinda also cuts down a good deal of disputes over inheritance of the properties of the deceased. If any one appropriates such properties without the complementary obligations, he draws the vengeance from the dead and is sure to face demands. Security in this world and in the underworld is thus achieved through the Birinda structure. It helps in curbing brideprice as well as dowry. As the woman retains her own Birinda after her marriage and the members of her Birinda have a right to claim her body after death and perform funeral rites she continues to be a part and parcel of the family to which she is born. She claims her personal possessions during

and after her marriage. Hence, there is lesser social necessity to pay a heavy bride price to get a girl and corresponding dowry to be paid to her during marriage.

From the above study it can then be revealed as to how a simpler society without clan or job or caste itself to discharge all the social functions and religious obligations. It has devised the Birinda structure which practically functions in all respects as a clan in controlling social and psychological frontiers, but simultaneously cuts down multiple restrictions, totalises leaving a free hand to the Secoras to plan their social events. In its various aspects a Birinda is a loose association of its members but simultaneously fosters a strong bond among them. In fact, Birinda structure enables the Secoras to lead a less complicated life arranging their own houses according to necessity and demands.

ABO BLOOD GROUP OF LANJIA (TAILED) SAORA, ORISSA

Serological studies in India, particularly of ABO blood groups have covered some important aboriginal populations. On the basis of the above studies it is possible to assess the ethnic position of tribal population. During the physical survey of Saora ABO blood group of 25 adult persons of Lanjia Saora could be typed from the village Savarpalli three miles away from R. Udayagiri town in the district of Ganjam, Orissa.

Saora also called Savars form a important segment of the tribal population of Orissa. They are found in most of the districts of the State of Orissa, their main concentration being in Ganjam and Koraput districts. The Saora of coastal region and western Orissa have adopted functional relationship with the Hindu societies and have no dialect of their own while Saoras living in high hills have a definite language. These two groups though imperfectly

mingles with each other in physical features, yet are distinguished from each other in their customs, practices, traditions and language. In 1941 Census, the total population of Saora was 316,362 of which 177,518 were recorded in Ganjam and Koraput districts. In 1961 census, the population counted separately gives 31,000 and 46,000 of Saora and Savars, respectively.

The present paper intends to study ABO blood group distribution among Saoras of R. Udayagiri in the district of Ganjam, Orissa. The Saoras referred to in this paper as Lambolanya or Lanjia (tailed) due to their peculiar type of putting on their loin cloth hanging one end as a tail. As they occupy high hills they are also called as 'Malas'. Though this group is the most important of the Saoras and numerically the largest division, eight of which were recorded by

From the field investigations revealed that many of these sections are the same only having different names in different regions. There are five sections among the Saoras, each of these is an endogamous group.

Marriage and Marriage ABO blood sampling of 25 adult Lampa Saoras were typed with great difficulty and slide method for the purpose was followed. Anti-A and Anti-B serum obtained from Haffkine Institute Bombay was utilized during the study.

TABLE 2

Tribe	O	A	B	AB	Total
Lampa Saora	7	10	5	3	25
Per cent	28.0	40.0	20.0	12	100

The blood group A (40 per cent) was found to be predominating. Distribution of O (28 per cent) group is the

next highest in percentage and B and AB are in still lesser percentage 20 per cent and 12 per cent respectively.

TABLE 3

Distribution of ABO Blood group and their gene frequencies

Tribe	No.	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r
Lampa Saora	25	7	10	5	3			
Per cent	100	28.0	40.0	20.0	12.0	0.295	0.63	0.529

TABLE 4

Distribution of ABO Blood group among some tribes of the Lampa Saora

Tribe	O	A	B	AB	Total
Juang	16	24	42	6	122
Chadab	16	39	20	6	91
Khand	15	8	16	5	45
Sabai	7	19	25	12	74
Qoad	12	5	6	2	25
Santa	2	2	8	2	14
Lampa Saora (Present Study)	7	10	5	3	25

Figures of ABO blood groups of Lakia (tailed) Sagra spinna taken from the village of Lakia (tailed) Sagra spinna from the village of Lakia (tailed) Sagra spinna.

Figures of ABO blood groups of Lakia (tailed) Sagra spinna taken from the village of Lakia (tailed) Sagra spinna from the village of Lakia (tailed) Sagra spinna.

TABLE 4

ABO BLOOD GROUPS OF LAKIA (TAILED) SAGRA SPINNA

File	A	B	AB	Total	p	q	r	Author
January								
Number	16	24	62	102				
Percent	15.7	23.5	60.8		15.7	23.5	60.8	Sarkar
February								
Number	16	19	30	65				
Percent	24.6	29.2	46.2		24.6	29.2	46.2	Sarkar
March								
Number	15	9	16	40				
Percent	37.5	22.5	40.0		37.5	22.5	40.0	Sarkar
April								
Number	17	19	25	61				
Percent	27.9	31.1	41.0		27.9	31.1	41.0	Sarkar
May								
Number	12	4	6	22				
Percent	54.5	18.2	27.3		54.5	18.2	27.3	Sarkar
June								
Number	2	2	8	12				
Percent	16.7	16.7	66.7		16.7	16.7	66.7	Sarkar
July								
Number	7	10	5	22				
Percent	31.8	45.5	22.7		31.8	45.5	22.7	Sarkar

Analysing the Table No. 2 p and q frequencies show the high doses of gene $p_{99\%}$ and $q_{52\%}$ respectively while q shows slight over a half of them. Rightly speaking the blood genes are not based on the proportion such as p being equal to the q and r each of four times more than q. Our tables have been given to shade the mode of blood group distribution of Loma Sanga and thereby showing

the racial affinity of the mix with the other Omani tribes.

Comparative studies of blood groups between H. I. Sanga Loma and the low land Sanga Sanga will be made in the next study. The same study also may show the difference in the proportion of blood groups between the two groups. They are different owing to the geographical conditions.

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The problem

Once again happened in an Air Force Station that the Station Warrant Officer found it difficult to get over to duties in different plant parts. The M. I. O. could not get enough of M. I. Ds. In the station runs. The Equipment Officer could not get his men to keep the work in the transit system and get to the railway station for despatching and receiving the consignment. The officer in charge of a squadron banger complained that he had a chance to get up with the team in morning work. The station master was not a man to get on. S. M. O. was not a man that his medical associates would and had no knowledge of how to do. His second complaint was that work report among the men was not increase and he did not get extra hands to get up with the unexpected increase in work. Station Officer was very busy the day after. He said he had been in writing important messages. The plant messages were coming in days before the work was being finished. He could

hardly manage to put some orders in a line in the telephone exchange. Every night Orderly Sergeant had to go to the shop in barracks to catch with a car to guard duty in the morning and he was, invariably, represented at the eleven o'clock and managed to get some time with other Orderly Officers and Orderly Sergeants were tied up with their reports more than once. Those who were in the station before were to add saying that the life in the station was far better than that of a day. Former was happy and gay and a year before. Then was the barracks state of affairs very much worse. What were the men but in the station is quite such a little and much work for the smooth running of the station.

The course of events

In a few morning of December the Station Warrant Officer was taking to the Station Warrant Officer. The Warrant Officer has been since he was waiting up in the morning. Because all men had gone away for their

1. Adjutant Transport office

2. Mechanical Transport Officer

3. Senior Medical Officer

daily work. S. W. O. readily agreed and published in the Station Routine Order that there would be parade every morning one hour before the actual working hour starts. After a week S. M. O. brought the complaint to the Senior Administrative Officer that the number of men reporting sick is going up due to the introduction of such parades every day and that too early in the morning. Without getting any favourable reply from the S. Ad. O^r he requested the Adjutant to stop parade every morning as it was difficult for him to manage his section with a skeletal staff and with the sudden rise in the number of sick parades. Adjutant was perturbed when he heard all these and stopped the morning parades but introduced evening Physical Training instead. In the beginning the attendance was quite satisfactory but later on it was found that the men had developed the habit of going to the Station Sick Quarters for evening treatment and thereby wanted to ward off the attendance in the P. T. Grounds. The Adjutant was not able to find the knot, where the cause of the poor attendance was so tightly tied.

Thereafter the Station Adjutant called a meeting of all the Section Commanders and discussed with them the

reason as to why men did not attend P. T. regularly. He emphasised the value and need of P. T. and games for the good health of the fighting forces. All the Section Commanders agreed that men report sick and attend to the Station Sick Quarters three times in a day which means a lot of time and the working hour per man goes so less as to three hours per day. The Chief Technical Officer came first with the complaints that the technicians working in the hangar go twice during the working hours for medicine and as the hangar was nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the S. S. Q. the men take a lot of time to go and come back to their duties. Again men are to go to the canteen for break which is again a make off and by this way much manpower is wasted. The working hours per man technicians come to nearly 3 hours a day which is too less.

Then came the Signal Officer with the complaints that whenever an airman was detached for night duty he reports sick and somehow or other got excused from the duty and it became difficult to manage the routine work of the section. The Signal Officer requested that the Signal Section men be excused from the P. T. and Parades and other station duties. M. T. O. came forward and advocated that the routine runs

1. Senior Administrative Officer

2. Physical Training

were in the increase and no got trouble in detaching men for such duty. Whoever was detailed for duty to go to railway station immediately reported 'sick' and it became difficult though not impossible to get men for that. In such case his staff should be excused from P. T. Parade and other station duties. S. E. O. also complained that there was a complaint coming to that station, his men were working even in the afternoon and those, who went to the railway station came back late in the afternoon and stayed without their cook. Even then he was not in a position to give them a day's off due to the pressure of work. Men, who are detailed to go to the railway station report sick on single ward such excuses that they are going without their lunch and, but after coming back they are to attend P. T. whenever they go to the railway station. In these circumstances the equipment staff is asked to go for parade and perform the station duties the work in the section will be half-done. He requested the Adjutant to allow his boys to keep away from parade and station duties to enable him to stand with his section in a good stead.

S. M. O. himself remarked that his medical assistants have

developed the habit of reporting sick and asking for laboratory examination and referring to the specialists, which, in his opinion was not at all necessary. He also remarked that his section boys are hard pressed with the work as the number of sick reporters is increasing day by day. Catering Officer was there to remark that though he gets no trouble from his assistants, the cooks bother him maximum. Every cook volunteers for counter duty whereas none comes forward for cooking and whoever is asked to cook does so without putting heart and soul in the job as a result of which the Catering Assistant on duty finds it hard not to crack, when complaints pile up during peak time.

S. W. O. was in the room with the complain that men go wrong well till they are detailed for duty when they report sick at the eleven o'clock hour and it leaves him with no time to find a substitute. All the section commanders found only difficulty. None was going smooth with a section.

Now the Adjutant was over head and ears with the complaints. He referred the matter to the S. Ad. O., who remarked that the state of affairs would be tightened up very soon. He insisted on having station parades twice

a week and that too early in the morning one hour before working hour starts. The state of affairs, instead of improving went from bad to worse. More and more people started crowding the S. S. Q. and the work really suffered. The matter went up to Station Commander, who took it seriously and at once called a welfare meeting. In the meeting he asked the men to bring forward the difficulties that they are facing. Many men stood up one after another and complained which were registered by the S. Ad. O., the welfare officer and the S. W. O. according to the case. At the last the Station Commander remarked, "Look here boys. I shall look into your complaints as soon as possible. But I won't appreciate a large number of people reporting sick every day. Service first and with due respect to these words you will be asked to work in the afternoon if you report sick in the morning. Alright, thank you."

Station Commander left the meeting and days passed on. Neither any thing was done from S. Ad. O's office on the subjects discussed in Station Commander's welfare

meeting nor the sick reporters refrained from their undesirable reporting sick.

Relevant factors

In the mean time the S. Ad. O. was posted out. The new S. Ad. O., who, came to the Station was little more than a skeleton so to say and was heavily pigmented. He was slow moving, quiet and always reserve. Men could not expect any change for good from such a person.

After taking over the charge, he went through all the papers, notes and comments by different officers and at the last checked the proceedings of the Station Commander's welfare meeting. After this he enquired and discussed with some of the Section Commanders on some vital points. Thereafter he visited some sections and interviewed some of the airmen. After a fortnight he called all the section commanders to his office and in the meeting suggested the following changes that were to take place immediately. His suggestions were many and varied. The few important ones are

- (1) M. T. Ds and Equipment Assistants going to the railway

station should be supplied with early lunch and something like pickle, sweet or some sort of salad should be given to them as extra item in addition to the usual items of the day. The food should be supplied in a hot carrier.

(2) Meals for all duty personnel should be supplied in hot carrier and the Orderly Sergeant of the day is to see that the food is supplied in time.

(3) All night-duty personnel are to be supplied with tea twice, once at 11-30 P. M. and once at 4 A. M.

(4) The Officer-in-charge Canteen and super bar has to so arrange that a man from the super bar takes sufficient edibles to the hanger and another man takes similarly to the Station Workshop for sale to the technicians working there. He again advised the officer to get the super bar wall painted with yellow paint. He further advised that a man from the Station Fruit shop should come to the Airman's Mess with available fruits during meal time.

(5) All the guards are to be provided with conveyance from their residence to their place of duty and back by the orderly officer's vehicle. There should be a guard's rest room with cots fitted with mosquito net poles.

(6) The fireplace in the cook-house of the airman's mess should be re-built immediately. In place of the existing fireplace there would be erected a smokeless fireplace and the chimney of that should be cleaned every month.

(7) The indoor game items available in Airman's recreation room should be doubled as soon as possible. There should be a study room, where men can devote their time to serious studies. Station Cinema would have only two shows and there would be no show after 10-30 P. M.

(8) S. W. O. has to engage all the sweepers for the cleanliness of the station. Anti-mosquito and fly measures should be taken regularly. The Station Laundry has to give one wash per annum in a week and the washing should be satisfactory.

(9) He requested the M. E. S.¹ representatives to send his men regularly to the domestic area and repair the sanitary fittings whenever such need arises.

(10) He told at the last to the S. M. O. that if possible he (the S. M. O.) should so arrange that the S. S. Q.² staff reporting sick are attended upon by the ady doctor.

(11) Parade is to continue once in a week and it would be only on Mondays. The parade would start half an hour before the working hours starts. P. T. and games would be conducted twice in a week i.e. on Wednesdays and Fridays. Officer-in-charge Sports has to arrange matches between units, sections and with outside teams regularly on P. T. days. Gymnasium has to be well equipped for those who want to use it.

With these suggestions, he emphasised that the normal atmosphere would come back to the station and told all respective section commanders to bear in mind the suggestions put forth before them.

Next he contacted the M. E. S. representatives and discussed as to how soon the roads in the Camp area can be repaired. He then called on the Executive Engineer for roads and buildings and discussed with him about the repairing of the road from the Air Force Camp to the railway station and replacement of the traffic signal boards.

The S. Ad. O. not only advised the section commanders and consulted the M. E. S. and other civil authorities for working out of his plan but also visited different sections at different times to find how the plan is being executed. Whenever he found slight defect he rectified it then and there.

The Outcome

After a few days only the number of sick reporters went down suddenly. Now no M. T. D. or Equipment Assistant was found to report sick for fear of railway station duty. Technicians were engaged in their work in the hanger for full time except the half hour break. Work-up men seemed contented and worked whole

¹ Military Dispensing Service.

² Station Sick Quarters.

heartedly. There was not a single cook reporting sick for months. Signal section men were found to have put heart and soul in their work. Men, who were detailed for guard duty seldom visited S. S. Q. Medical Asqis were relaxed when the number of sick reporters went down. S. W. O. found it easy to get men for station duties. The number of men attending P. T. and parade was increasing from time to time and the turn out of airmen was quite satisfactory. A sign of happiness hovered over everybody's face.

The change was marked always and everywhere. The S. M. O. could not find out and why the number of sick reporters could go down so suddenly. M. T. O. had no complaints. Now C. T. O. found enough of hands to manage his hangars quite satisfactorily.

Men were seen moving around the camp in groups of five or more after the dinner. The recreation room was always packed to its capacity. Some airmen were seen using the study room and all made it a habit to go to the reading

room to look at the daily newspapers and periodicals. Men became regular in using the reading room and the recreation room.

Analysis

In his endeavour to win over the men of the Air-Force Station, the sincerity and good will of the S. Ad. O. is remarkable. He dealt less in logic than in good-will. He found from his observations by visiting sections and interviewing the men concerned and participating in the duty of few of them. From his experiments of social medicines of the station he came to know the defects of administration which led to inefficiency and lack of interest for work among them. He quickly took steps to avoid such untoward events or take place and could save the station (Air-Force Station).

* * *

It seemed as if some miracle had overtaken the Air-Force Station. Some wondered as to how the change had been possible. Everybody remained that it was due to the new S. Ad. O. who has taken so

much interest in improving the service conditions. But why such change was not possible before. The question lingered in every body's mind when it was discovered that the new S. Ad. O. was an Anthropologist and whatever change he introduced was due to his knowledge of applied Anthropology

in medicine and in industry. Anthropologists do real miracles in times of war and peace for people of all walks of life. Now the reader must be interested to know the definition of Anthropology. I can only say that Anthropology is the Science of "Man and his works".

RABJINDER SINGH

AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

One way of understanding the social structure of an Indian village is to study its leadership pattern. There are number of situations which give rise to different types of leadership in our villages. One of such types is community leadership consisting of persons who are leaders for the whole of the community. They assert their leadership positions in those

contexts where the village population acts as a whole. They make decisions, direct community activities and speak for the community. Thus they have very significant roles to play. There is, however, considerable lack of an adequate analysis of community leadership as recognised by the villagers and of the characteristics attributed to such leadership.

Problem and Method

This study was designed to obtain an overall picture of community leadership as recognised by a village community and also to ascertain the bases of such leadership. The broad objectives of this study were

- (i) To identify community leaders on the bases of opinions sought from the village.
- (ii) To determine their popularity on the bases of choices received from members of different castes.
- (iii) To see whether this leadership is determined by caste.
- (iv) To analyse the different characteristics attributed to leaders.

For this study, a schedule was prepared for interviewing the respondents consisting of all the household heads. They were asked to name the leaders in activities such as organising village fair, observation of 'Shudh'*, organising ceremonies in connection with removal of cattle diseases, organising village 'Jhansas'† and the wrestling bouts, etc. Information was also sought with regard to special qualities possessed by them as noted by the respondents.

Results

The village M is of average size with a population of 662, located 6 miles from Chandigarh capital of Punjab towards west on all-weather metalled Chandigarh-Rupar road. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kharar town, the headquarters of Development Block. The village consists of 88 households of 11 different caste groups. The caste-wise distribution of families is as follows:

Jat Sikh—30 families, Saini Sikh 23, Brahmin 4, Blacksmith 1, Carpenter 1, Barber 2, Water-carrier 1, Potter 2, Oil-presser 1, Shoe-makers 10 and Sweeper 11 families. Jat Sikhs are prominent land-owners in this village. Saini Sikhs are next to them and they also own lands along with Jats. Shoemakers and sweepers constituting two different caste-groups occupy lowest position on the social ladder in this village.

Identification

There arise some situations where almost the entire village population acts as a whole to achieve certain ends. There are always some persons who organise such activities and lead others towards the desired goal. The following table shows the responses given by the respondents in regard to such activities (mentioned earlier) for the village under study.

* Aarti day for the cattle.

† Village gatherings in connection with various cultural activities.

TABLE I

Distribution of leaders according to their caste and number of choices received from members of different castes according to criterion of organising functions for the village as a whole

Sl. No.	Name of the leader	Caste	Choices received from										
			Caste										
			Jat Sahi	Sabai Sahi	Brahmin	Blacksmith	Carpenter	Barber	Waste carrier	Potter	Oiler	Shoemaker	Scavenger
	K. Singh	Jat	25	25	4	1	3	2	1	2	1	7	9
2	B. Singh	Jat	12	3	3	..	2	1	1	2	1	5	4
3	J. Singh	Jat	17	8	5	1	..	2	..	2	..	7	6
4	P. Singh	Jat	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
5	S. Singh	Jat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	S. Singh	Jat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	W. Singh	Saini	1	10	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
8	S. Singh	Saini	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
9	S. A. Singh	Saini	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	G. Singh	Saini	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	M. Singh	Saini	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	H. Ram	Blacksmith	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	L. Singh	Carpenter	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	2
Total Choices			68	72	11	4	7	5	3	6	2	26	34

In all, 13 persons have been named as leaders. Out of them 6 belong to Jat caste, 5 to Sami caste and one each to Blacksmith and Carpenter caste groups. All of them are not equally influential as they carry different amount of choices from the respondents. So the difference in choice shows the difference in recognition and effectiveness of the leader concerned. Out of these 13 persons, 4 get single choice each which in most cases is given by themselves or by others on persons. Considerations such as friendship, caste, kin, etc. One Jat and the Blacksmith get only 8 and 4 choices respectively. All these show that these six persons mentioned above are not real leaders in this situation. So, the remaining 7 may be recognised as leaders as they receive enough choices to be called as such. Three of them belong to Jat caste, 3 to Sami caste and the remaining one is from Carpenter caste. The greater number of choices are restricted to the Jat leaders as compared to the Sami leaders. The Carpenter gets least number of choices. Among the Jat

leaders, themselves all the three carry different choices. Thus, K. Singh, J. Singh and B. Singh get 75, 47 and 34 choices. This shows that K. Singh is most influential leader as compared to other two Jats J. Singh and B. Singh. While the latter are more influential than the 3 Sami leaders, W. Singh, S. Singh and S. Singh who receive 16, 15 and 13 choices respectively. S. Singh carpenter receives the minimum of 11. With few exceptions, Jats and Samis have mostly recognised leaders from their own caste. Brahmins restrict their choices to Jat and Sami leaders. Castes such as Barber, Potter, Water-carrier and Oil-presser recognise only the Jat leaders. For other caste groups also the greater number of choices are restricted to Jat leaders.

Bases of leadership

The schedule also aimed at ascertaining the bases of leadership positions in the village. The responses given by the respondents show that these 7 persons who have been taken as leaders in this situation, have different bases of their recognition. A table in this respect is presented as under.

TABLE 2

Number of times different characteristics attributed to leaders in relation of organising functions for the village as a whole

Sl. No.	Name of the leader	Characteristics of leaders									
		Education	Organising capacity	Honesty	Spares time	Reputed family	Effective outlook	Old Age	Wealth	Military Service	Popularity
1	K. Singh	25	45	60	5					59	17
2	J. Singh		17	30	20	40	2	44			25
	B. Singh		22	30	17	12					23
4	W. Singh	14	10	12	10						10
5	S. Singh	6	12	11	7		7			10	10
6	S. S. Singh		8	9	8	11					10
7	S. Singh (Carpenter)		9	7	10			9			5

The above table shows that the respondents have attributed different characteristics to their leaders. K. Singh is educated, good organiser, honest, popular, man of spare time and he belongs to reputed family. He received 25, 45, 60, 5, 59, 17 and 24 choices respectively. J. Singh is a good organiser, honest and popular. He spares time, belongs to reputed family and has effective outlook. The choices received by him in each case are 17, 30, 20, 40, 2, 23 and 25 respectively. The respondents have recognised

B. Singh because he is good organiser, honest, popular. He spares time and belongs to reputed family. He received 22, 30, 17, 12 and 23 choices, respectively. The bases of recognition of W. Singh are his education, organising capacity, honesty, free time and popularity. He receives 14, 10, 12, 10 and 10 choices, respectively. S. Singh is educated, good organiser, honest. He spares time and has effective outlook. He got 6, 12, 11, 7, 7, 10 and 10 choices each case respectively.

S. S. Singh is recognized as such because he is a good organizer, honest, popular and an young man. He speaks Hindi and belongs to a reputed family. The choices received in each caste are 8, 9, 8, 11, 10 and 9, respectively. The characteristics attributed to S. Singh (carpenter) are organising capacity, honesty, sparing time, old age, wealth and popularity. He received 9, 7, 10, 9, 11 and 5 choices, respectively.

Therefore, it can be noticed from this table that among others, the characteristics of organising capacity, honesty, sparing time and popularity are most commonly attributed to leaders in this situation.

Summary and conclusion

This study shows that community leadership is regulated by caste. Only some persons from higher caste groups act

as community leaders in the village and the lower caste members recognise them. Also there is a significant correlation between the position of the caste of a leader and his popularity as indicated by the number of choices given by the respondents coming from all the caste groups. There are, however, differences in the choices obtained by the leaders of the same caste.

It also shows that there are number of characteristics which are commonly attributed by the respondents to their leaders. Some of these characteristics are most essential for this type of leadership in the village. These are organising capacity, honesty, sparing time, old age, wealth and popularity. But other characteristics such as education, reputed family, effective outlook and age young are not so commonly attributed to the leaders of the Community.

Dr L. L. MAHAPATRA

The Pauni Bhuiyan or Hill Bhuiyan are found in contiguous hill ranges and intervening valleys over a wide area in Western Koorghar, eastern Sona, and in adjoining parts of Palahua and Barua ex-states. They are one of the major tribes of North Orissa, wellknown for their attachment to shifting cultivation.

The Pauni are considered as the most primitive, least acculturated section of the great Bhuiyan population in the states of Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere. In North Orissa there are Hinduized sections of the Bhuiyan known as Khandia Bhuiyan, Rautah Bhuiyan, Kanti Bhuiyan, etc. at various levels of Hinduization. However, all of these Bhuiyan are settled agriculturists and the only group still practising shifting cultivation till recently were the Desh Bhuiyan or Pauni Bhuiyan.

The Pauni Bhuiyan are, however, not undifferentiated at least on the techno-economic plane. Those who live in hill villages, on convenient flat terrain, have some terraces for rice cultivation, as at Taura, where the author worked. In a

FROM SHIFTING CULTIVATOR TO AGRICULTURIST—THE PAURI-BHUYAN IN TRANSITION

valley, or at the foot of the hills, a Pauni village might have been firmly rooted for a few generations, cutting terraces or irrigating its lands for wet cultivation. These were rather self-sponsored changes before the Government came in.

The Government of Orissa since the merger of the ex-States have exerted in all manner to stop shifting cultivation, brought a large area under reserved forests, and set off the shifting cultivator Pauni Bhuiyan and other neighbouring tribes (Berikar, Cherenga (known also as Eenga), Kulha, and the Jany in Koorghar in angle clearings, in the valleys and plateaus. The slow, natural process of emulation of the neighbouring agricultural caste was thus sought to be reinforced and extended on a large scale yet urgently into rather compulsory settlement in agricultural colonies with all the incentives, assistance and facilities at the command of the Government.

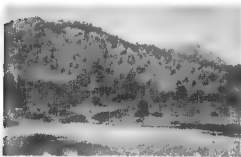
In order to portray this picture of transition from shifting cultivation to agriculture, we require consideration of the techno-economic changes and their

concomitant socio-cultural changes and problems at three levels—changes in the hill village, changes in the valley village settled for generations, and changes introduced or induced in the Government-sponsored agriculturist colonies. The author had made some extensive and intensive studies in 1953-54 under the auspices of the Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa, and in 1957 on his own, in south-eastern Bona, round Mahulpada.

In the Hill Village of Tazra

Techno-economic developments in the direction of agriculture in the hill village, Tazra in which the author concentrated, were

few but decisive. About 10 terraced plots of settled agriculture had been constructed in Tazra, owned individually almost exclusively by the "Matiali" or first settlers' section of the village population. The 'parga' had equal rights to Swidden, jungle and other wastes, but were not always fortunate like the 'Matiali' people to occupy suitable plots for kitchen garden or 'Matia-garden'. But a large number of men and women through their periodic dependence on day-labour in the valley villages had acquired a good amount of skill in transplanting paddy as in wet cultivation, and in ploughing as done in the plains. Their economy



Valley Cultivation in Tazra, India

had come to depend on the nearby markets for selling some cash crops and for selling or purchasing important consumer items like rice and cloth.

IN THE VALLEY VILLAGE OF DERULA

The data are mostly based on Derula, supplemented by information on Burhabhuan (south) which I had visited only once in 1954. Derula lies just on the left bank of the Kala (kola) river, about 5 kilometers north-north-east from Mahulpada. The main village has now 3 hamlets. Badbil, composed of colonists from Kuna hill village in the main, Manakhunta, similarly, of colonists from Kamatachua hill village, and Sagadia Sahn, composed of Munda, Kolha immigrants. The Pauri Bhuyas colonists have come down voluntarily, at the earliest, 30 years ago.

Derula village is famous for its settled agriculture in low terraces, constructed since 3 generations or thereabouts, and for irrigation channels by damming the Kala river at two places. This irrigation helps watering the seed beds 1 to 2 weeks later on and to meet the threat of drought when the river may be rather full. There are at present three main types of land for use: swidden land free to all villagers and held

by the tenure of "corporate village ownership" as village common land and forests, and private ownership in terrace plots, and in the flat upland or 'gura' land. Swidden cultivation is done as in Tasa, and terrace plots such as those at Burhabhuan. But in 'gura' cultivation both plots and crops are changed in rotation to grow 'Kulthi', pulses, legumes, etc. in the first year, paddy in the second year and sesamum oil-seed in the third year, then for 2 years a plot is kept fallow, followed by burning the bush before cultivating. Mustard and maize are grown as in the hills in gardens, which are now private property to all intents and purposes.

All 'Matsa' families have privately owned agricultural plots while almost all 'Purja' have to depend on swiddens as their main source of livelihood. In 1952 the present Headman's household reaped 1,200 Kilo paddy from agriculture and 400 Kilo from swidden thus making the contribution of swidden to his family substantial, especially in supplying vegetables, millets, oil-seeds, pulses, etc. Besides watching swiddens up the hillside makes the job of watching wild agricultural fields easier, as otherwise the onslaught of the wild animals on lowland agriculture would be too much. Similar, halting function of swidden watching was also

referred to by peasants at Mahulpada. As to the question why the Pauni of Derula would not raise vegetables or other crops in the plots which could be irrigated come the problems of fencing and manuring. Moreover, my Bhuiyan informants asserted that all were not agreed on starting such cultivation. If only a few cultivate others would be jealous and would surely work sorcery against food crops as the few growers could not possibly satisfy the demands of so many relatives and neighbours. The Gour (milkman) family who live in Derula and own and hold on lease a good number of plots famed not so much the type of soil, as the Pauni did not amongst the local magicians of the Bhuiyan. However the Bhuiyan cited the relatively no-better crop harvested by the Gour with all his ample cattle-dung manure as the sure proof of the unsuitability of the soil.

On the security of land and cattle one could get loans of paddy at 25 per cent interest (simple interest) from the Government paddy granaries of 'Dhangela' or 'Kumadhi'. But as most did not have either land or cattle they could not take advantage of this blessed facility. However, private granaries in the valley charged 25 per cent or 50 per cent

compound interest and Derula men were never willing to pay 100 per cent compound interest unlike Tasma men. Derula men impressed me as quite aware of the opportunities about them and not slow in exploiting them.

Yet most of the land owners have leased out land at one time or the other on petty loans. In one case for Rs. 10.00 of loan some terrace plots were leased out for 10 years. In another, a "name-sake"ritual friend of Gour caste was cultivating a plot belonging to a Pauni and by going to the village got his rights of ownership established during the next settlement year on. A Gond of Jagati village advanced Rs. 25.00 to a Bhuiyan for rights of cultivating a big estate for only 5 years, but even after 10 years the land was not recovered in 1954. In such instances processes some lands are already lost to the Derula Bhuiyan.

This alienation of land was however deliberate in case of certain other villages further north. In "Khesra" forests for use of the villagers at Patamundi and Phulihar the Pauni had made their swiddens for two years and then gave away the cleared land to Moudani immigrants for money, goats and goats for feeding the whole village. At Nagaria village, it was reported, Bhuiyan lands were cultivated by Moudani, Cherenpa Kotha and Gond for

a nominal tax of Rs 1-00 per pough" Land cultivated with a pair of cattle, a conventional measure). In Derula the Mander, Kolha were given the lands round an old site "Sagardah", where, the Pauni alleged, tigers took a heavy toll of the Bhuiyan whenever they roved here.

Alarmed at the spectre of land-alienation especially by the Loh, Gour and Gond rather than by Manda immigrants, and misunderstanding the value of literacy, especially in calculation of interest, execution of deeds and understanding the law, Derula men had approached me for getting a school for Derula through my recommendation. It might be that by having a school they wanted also to gain an advantage over other Pauni villages or to attract some of the rich Pauni who ended their circuit at Mahulpada. But they were not clear that they were to check this process of surreptitious land-alienation. The opening of "Gram Panchayat" at Mahulpada gave very handy opportunities for ventilating their grievances against the exploiters in this manner. On the other hand, the power of composing disputes arising out of land-rights shifted to "Gram Panchayat" from the Village Assembly, which became less effective in disputes between the Bhuiyan and even

lesser, in cases between a Pauni and Gond or Gour.

Living in the valley and having greater contacts with outsiders some villagers have worked in Calcutta and Assam, and some still go to Sarkunda and Ranin mines to work in the winter and early summer. A few caught and sold 'sari' talking-birds travelling upto Chashma in Saurashtra and even Midnapore district in West Bengal for about 3 generations, and one or two traded in rice ear blades from Khajuri Khaman in Benares.

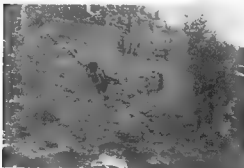
As at Derula, similarly at another valley village Khadka in Palahara, as also in Budhabhain in western Bonas, almost all the agricultural plots are worked by Mahan sections. As at Tasra, so at Rada in Palahara, the few terraces made in the hill slope also, but aged mostly, are in Mahan section. At Budhabhain (south) in the narrow valley of a hill stream the difference in wealth was extreme. The 'Sardar' or regional headman since 1945 (or slightly later in this village) had owned much of the well-constructed terraces and buffaloes (much more costly and productive than cows) and had himself made 10 terraces in his life-time. Similar concentration of wealth was evidenced at Derula in one Pauni house and in one of the Gour families.

Apart from a tendency to extremes of wealth in a valley

village there are some necessary modifications in the rituals. At Tatra those who have terraces, nonetheless make ceremonial sowing only in the swidden, while at Derula it was just the reverse. Before transplanting paddy seedlings the worship of 'Kumbhali' is observed along with the Pauri ceremony of 'Amachi Puja'.

Dhan Saa or 'Eating First Paddy' is observed here slightly more elaborately than at Tatra, but much less elaborately than in other mixed villages, say Kamadh. Bishri Das was introduced to Dhan Saa about

1925-26 as perhaps the first Pauri Bhuiyan village in Mahulpada region of Bonai. The householders celebrate two ceremonies of threshing ground, once for swidden paddy known as 'Gandharfanda' and the other time for paddy from low land agriculture called 'Khava Puja', the latter being more elaborate. At the latter ceremony, 'Lachmi', the Hindu goddess of wealth in popular cult, is worshipped with a sacrifice of white chicken and 'Barami', the tribal deity, with another chicken.



Preparing a Shifting Cultivation Field

As land has now permanent value through its permanent productivity in settled agriculture, it was just another step

from rights of "inheritable use" and "private rights" in scarce lands as at Tatra to completely private ownership in agri-

cultural land as in all settled villages. The lands for making gardens for maize and mustard have, however, not yet become private property, at least in law. The preferential share of the eldest son has, however, not been allowed to extend to inheriting the more plot of agriculture and all Derula. The brothers get equal shares in terraces and I have no information if the eldest one gets preferential treatment in upland or 'gum' plots. However, the women are as usual inherited from land.

The development and tendencies evident at Derula and a few other villages in the valley with settled agriculture should borne in mind for comprehending the changes that may be in wait for Tassa villagers when they come down. But more obvious, binding, and imminent are the changes that have already occurred in some of the colonies started by the Government in the valley forests.

In the Government Colonies

In this I shall be often referring to my study of Gahalbancha colony which started in 1945-46 as an off shoot from Tassa. But some data will also be added from other colonies as occasion arises. Much information on the evolving life in the colonies is given by N. Patnaik (1952, 1957) and most of his interpretations meet mine and my observations.

In 1949-50 the first colony was started with Paun families from Tal and Lpar Gonta many of whom had some settled agriculture but still cutting swiddens. As Patnaik noted in 1950 some of them had actually left their wives and children, their sons and brothers, to look after the kambar, kakis and orchards of banana, jack fruit and mango (1952, p. 21). At Gahalbancha only 11 families of Paun from Tassa in 45, and in 1952 some Cherenga Kacha and Paun families from Rengal came to settle down. By 1957 a Benikar family particularly related to Tassa 'Mand' section had come from Burhabhain (south), living somewhat away from the Paun. Similarly the few Cherenga Kacha families live in a separate ward of their own. Settlers from Tassa were given some paddy (9 kua per individual) and one bullock already in 1950 before coming down. The paddy was meant to be seed but was readily consumed. Next year after taking necessary precautions as to the suitability of the colony and the families came down and were given about 20 kilo seed-paddy in April-May per family. The Bhojan Headman of Gahalbancha colony as in other colonies was presented a gun to keep away wild beasts but it stood more as a symbol of prestige and allurements for the others still in the hills. After occupying the colony, house building and extensive shifting cultivation in

rotation of plots and crops as in Tassa, were the main activities. Those who had money and some surplus paddy made some lower land into agricultural terrace by raising embankments. Thus the Baidyan Headman of Guhalbandha with Rs. 200 saved and borrowed, and about 200 kito paddy engaged some Chakma, Khasia and Bhuiyan labourers and could make 2 terraces ready in one year. A somewhat well-to-do 'Paraja' from Tassa had invested, as reported, about Rs. 412 50¢ and 400 kito paddy between 1951 and 1954 in constructing embankments and terraces in Guhalbandha. This family owned 15 heads of cattle in 1954. As the Government had given one bullock per family and the village land was still very and repeatedly being given to those who had one or more heads of cattle of their own could hope to carve out some terraces with such a strong shifting cultivation. When some bullocks from Talcher areas, not adapted to the cooler climate and less suitably than the shorter Pauni cattle succumbed to diseases, and water facilities were worse than at Tassa (where Beghari rivulet was a perennial source of water) discontent and criticism ran high. But with more Government subsidy in grain and a little money and another bullock, by borrowing and saving surplus from extensive swiddens and gardens, the colonists were

on the way to meet the challenge of the new life.

Up to 1956 they could cut new swiddens, besides raising new crops like sesamum (tila) and kulhi pulses (कुली) in paddy and gaura (गुरा) or upland, maize, mustard, 'muga' pulses and turmeric in 'bakhuri' or maize garden and tobacco (तम्बाकू) in the kitchen garden. In 1957 many had used their third-year swiddens to cultivate 'biri' pulses and 'ruhma' beans, used in an important meal called 'Nangakhia' (Eating First Fruits), as there was no forest to make new swiddens to raise these traditional crops. Similar reasons had driven colonists from Kupa and Kurdia to cut swiddens in their ancestral hill villages, but they could not cultivate there on governmental pressure. This shows how attached the Pauni Bhuiyan indeed were to their shifting cultivation and not a little due to some magico-religious requirements. If they cannot grow certain early maturing kura (गुरा) and gaura or the earliest hill maize ripening as early as mid-August to ailey their privation, they can now fall back upon the earliest paddy poning now about the same time on 'gura' land. 'Gura' land requires periodical fallowing or 2 years and the jungle is burnt in patches before being put into use. The cattle-dung manure, formerly given only in the gardens, is now be-

required in the gardens as well as in agricultural plots. As this dung is still the main manure used by the Bhuiyan colonists, one wonders how a family with only two heads of cattle could manage to meet its manuring needs. The natural way to the increase in cattle is somewhat blocked by the bias of Hindu officials against giving titles to draft cattle. The local shifting cultivators used cows and not only bullocks in swiddens, and later also in agriculture.

The Cherenga Kolha colonists in general depend on their own labour and on government subsidies and have no reluctance like the Paur, Bhuiyas towards the inevitable heavy earthwork involved in clearing ground for cultivation. But they are far better than those Paurs who had not much capital or cattle. But, evidently they could not construct more terraces than those who had money and cattle. Moreover the poorer, both Paurs and Cherenga Kolhas, most often could not occupy as much land as the richer ones as they required greater outlay of labour and materials for constructing high embankments. Some well-to-do men much more among the Paurs than among the Cherenga Kolhas, have been able to keep one and even 2 'haba' or 'hired labourer for a year' and thereby occupy and utilise more land and thus have grown richer and richer. The number of families

keeping such 'haba' has of course increased but rather slowly. Some of these greedy agriculturists must have to give up their not-so-good plots when distribution is made on basis of 5 acres (2 hectares) or even 10 acres of upland (gura) per family. It is because of the repeated land-grabbing and lack of more forests for shifting cultivation, that many Bhuiyan did not believe as early as 1954 the official assertion that there was still more land for colonists in Dalensara forest clearing.

Thus we find the original Government intention to give equal amount of aid and to allot equal amount of land, and thus to give an equal start to each colonist family has been belied simply because of conditions of wealth and skills they were not equal. The Cherenga Kolha were on the whole poorer but had better skills in agriculture besides being free from the sentiment against earthwork. We have already noted in Derula and Barbhuiya (south) as elsewhere that settled cultivation had created a class of have-nots in land not given to swiddens and the concentration of wealth in a few hands was remarkable when compared to conditions in Tansa, where differences in holding wealth were never so extreme. Similarly, a few among the Cherenga Kolha like the Headman of Barbhuiya village with settled agriculture had amassed

wealth in land, grains, cows, buffaloes and pigs. By 1957 this process of concentration of wealth and of widening the economic rift between the poorer and the richer was not merely continued but also appears to have been accelerated in the colonies. While in the hills the basis of differentiation in wealth was based both on working hands and a few privileged economic opportunities, in the colony, it was primarily based on the accumulated wealth which a colonist brought with him. After the redistribution of lands, this process may be checked but not reversed, as the Government policy is to extend equal (not equitable) opportunities for all families in the colonies. The process will be checked also because the hired labourers, either Paun Bhuyan or Cherenga Kolha will be getting lands on their own rights as colonists somewhere. It remains to be seen how far the present differences in wealth, no longer of territorial and political status as between 'Mat' and 'Parja' sections in the hills, may be consolidated and unified in other aspects of life to create something like social classes. But at present there are two economical classes in the colonies, obvious also to the colonists themselves.

We may now follow other developments one by one.

In the field of technology of agriculture a few skills, like ploughing *in the round* instead of *along the contour* and down-wards as in the hills, turning out of paddy and transplating, had to be learnt. As many of the Paun Bhuyans in the hills and all Cherenga Kolha had known them, it was not a great handicap. The real handicap, even in 1947 appeared to be the stamps of trees and the infinite number of small rocks that were to be seen everywhere in the reclaimed plots. The plough now lost its string arrangement with the yoke for coping with the intervening boulders as in the hill swaddens, and the pick or 'gardani' used in rocky places, inaccessible to the plough had little use in agriculture. The hoe is now used in the corners of the field where the plough does not reach.

In house-building, the tendency is to construct stronger houses with door-panels made of wooden planks instead of bamboo wickerwork, as in the hills. This is consonant with more private property and larger stores to be securely 'stacked'. The Bachelors' Dormitory was the best and spacious building in Gubalbandha in marked contrast to its dilapidated condition in Taura in 1957. The "front verandah of houses tends to be wider. Only a few Paun outside Gubalbandha have constructed roofs with 'khapra'.

or country made tiles learnt from Cherenga Kōha neighbours.

In settlement patterns there has been the most significant change in having a linear pattern with houses on both sides of a wide and often straight street. The village centres have been a ready indication of this. Villagers had begun planting rice since their occupation. The streets are kept duly clean, though garbage might be scattered in the back yard of the houses. The colonies are inter-connected with roads.

Coming to other aspects of material culture lighting arrangements seem to be universal, with a kerosene lamp and at least 8 hurricane lanterns in Gaharbandha colony, although away from the main road running between Mulapada and Bonagarh. Cloth chattras are owned by almost all households. In Gaharbandha the sandalwood Paria from Tasra even boasts of a pair of shoes. A few others like the Headman of Dulahara colony also wear shoes. Except a few older men all wear ready-made shirts and the cloth of new ones often reaches beyond the knees. Snaps and 'b-di' or small leaf-cigarettes (purchased) a pace of home-made 'kalka' leaf-cigars are coming into greater use.

The food has become less balanced than in the hills, because there is more rice, a little vegetables, but more pulses and much less meat or fish. After the swidden phase is over, not much meat will be available for beer, which will now be made more from rice and the men will grow more dependent on distilled liquor. Similarly, the varieties of vegetables grown in swidden will no longer be available and only a few households have papaya or banana. Hunting is rather infrequent and mostly restricted to the ceremonial hunting and is rarely successful. For fishing there is no big streams nearby. Vegetables and dried fish will have to be purchased. Collection of jungle fruits, leaves and tubers, flowers, and honey will be progressively more difficult as the jungle is shrinking away. However, it is an exaggeration to say "Tubers were available in abundance and they were living on this food", without qualification that tubers were the primary food in privation months only (Patnaik, 1957, p. 12). On the other hand, the observation, "Meals are cooked two times daily" in the colonies, which was not always possible in the hills, is correct. "No difficulty of water" in hill villages is not borne out by examples of Tasra and Haisra at Hatnalyager had to descend a long way down in the summer for drinking water.

In the economic life there has been the net result of production of rice surplus, and a sharp decrease in quantity and variety of cash crops. This has been partly compensated by recourse to day-labour and working at the mines at Barisan in the winter and early summer. This dependence on wage labour has the tendency to increase, as the colonists require more and more money as their needs swell and as they get more leisure after the sudden-cure-rehabilitation phase is over. We have already seen at Tasra that tending paddy was not a dream and that there was some surplus of paddy however insecure this surplus may be, supported as it was partly by surplus of rice, fish, and yams. Also contrary to Parakk's statement (1957, p. 2) it was sometimes possible to have an extra hand at Tasra. This was possible under two conditions: firstly, the household had some surplus the previous year to feed the extra hand, and secondly, this extra hand always produced more than he got in wages, rice, and a pair or more of cloths. But in a colony he got only a pair of cloths and paddy up to 100 Kilo. Even then this rate seems to be much less than what the same labourer would have got from a planterman (non-Bhuyan or non-Cherenga Kotha). The remuneration according to my information

in the plants consists of daily rations, a pair of cloths, and paddy from 300 to 400 Kilo. Judged from this rate, it looks as if it were exploitation in the colonies and in the hills. However, in the hills, one household of average economic standing had a permanent labourer for help in shifting cultivation while in other cases one or two seasonal labourers were employed to do a particular piece of job. What is of great importance in the hills or even in the colonies is that the seasonal labourer is, as a rule, of the same caste as the employer and in many ways associated with the unit and lives as a member of the household. The more thoroughly economic relations between the labourer and the employer is simply not possible in the hills, and to a large extent in the colonies. Another change in economic life may be the use of surplus rice as a cash-carrying commodity, which was never possible in the hills. Already some dehusked rice has been sold to the officials at Dalsara. Further it looks as if a cowherd caste man, appointed by colonists to tend the cattle, is going to be a permanent wage-earner unlike in the hills. Moreover, the "operative labour" or "bajakama" was used scarcely in the colony in the phase of shifting cultivation and has, it is alleged, stopped completely now. In its place

day-labour at the usual wages current in the plains is being taken to. It is probable that the attitude of reluctance towards day-labour and work at munga will change in the near future. Day-labour may become indifferent in present value as the avocation of the majority.

The womenfolk seem to be contributing less to the economy, as collecting has lost its importance, and also have much fewer opportunities to earn on their own here as contrasted with the hills. This means that they are going to be more dependent on their menfolk economically. As it is men who hold individual rights on land, lone widows have no longer a household of their own.

It is too early to discern changes in the socio-political life. Yet some trends are clear. In the beginning in colonies a family with more working hands was in an advantageous position to attend to shifting cultivation and land reclamation. In 1957 when records of land were going to be made and every family was to get a fixed quota of lands the married brothers and sons and even unmarried but grown up sons tried to set up their own households. Among them were some 'haka' or casual labourers. Thus in 1957 there were at least 20 young men married and unmarried clamouring for land and of them only 4 had some

lands below their quota. As the opportunity for getting a fixed quota of reserve land comes only once in the life of a settlement it is very rare. Here a shifting cultivation as a form of reserve land, the tendency towards complete separation of dependent families or widows. Lone widows have to live with their daughters' husbands or other male relatives instead of having their own households as at Tases.

As all the castes have come together to an uncultivated area, there are no 'Matang' privileges in socio-political status. But the Matang section of the mother-village retains the posts of Headman and Priests as usual. Although Dhabandhar ceremony (Village and Foundation day) is still observed, one of its main purposes, that is admission of new 'Parga' and reinsurance of loyalty to the old 'Parga' have lost their meaning. But the Parga as a whole have gained some political power over the Cherenga Kolha and the few Benthar colonists. The Parga are in the majority, the whole scheme was mainly to bring them down and the visiting officers and permanent officials give the support of the Government. The Cherenga Kolha are untouchable and of lower status. At Gahabandha colony, where they live away

from the Bhuiyan, the domination of the latter is more obvious than in the exclusively Cherenga colonies with their own headman and priests. At Guha bancha they are asked to contribute for 'Debu Ura' and perhaps many other festivities of the Paari Bhuiyan, in the name of the village, while the Paari do not contribute anything in their rituals. This has been so for three reasons. Firstly, the Cherenga had come to settle one year or more later than the Bhuiyan of Tatra who all came in a group, thus becoming numerically the majority and dominant group supporting the headman and the priests. Secondly, the Cherenga had always acknowledged the Bhuiyan as the lords of the land and themselves as their "Paraja" rather figuratively so much so that in Mahulpada valley they won't collect thachgrass before the Bhuiyan did, where the interests clashed. Thirdly, the Paari Bhuiyan have always worshipped the village deities in the valley village of Jagati, Mahulpada Burchua, Rengala and Kumutela. The Paari Bhuiyan of Cherenga Kolha lived. I suspect the Paari Bhuiyan of Dolasara colony have similar status of dominance over the Cherenga Kolha of Rata Khundi colony nearby. Incidentally, Patnaik has always referred to the Cherenga Kolha of the colonies as "Minda", as they speak a Manda language (1955

Patnaik has rightly pointed to the weakening position of the Bhuiyan in the colonies (1957, p. 13). But he does not fully explain the situation when he says, "The causes of their helplessness in the village are obvious... outside people and the gradual breakdown of village solidarity after wet cultivation has been introduced" (Ibid. p. 13). In the next sentence, he implies village solidarity is impaired, as in "Wet cultivation (agriculture) economic interdependence and constant (frequent) need for co-operation are not necessary as they are in the cultivation of 'bhangs' (Kaman or shifting cultivation)." (Brackets enclose the terms preferred). Sharing cattle and implements and much co-operative labour are not necessary or possible in the colony as the governmental help and the need for reclaiming land by each household for its private exploitation have made a hole in the old pattern of village life to that extent. On the other hand, the older pattern of village life with its festivals, communal partnership groups for arranging them, collective hunting expeditions, however few, and the bachelors' dormitories on the colony basis and even having the institution of 'Private Granary' or 'Dehura Dhana' in Kumutela and Bharkar Ghara colonies (from Kuma and

Kandla hill-villages) show that the old village solidarity is still much preserved. However, the custom of joint cultivation of a swidden by the whole village or colony for their own common interests, as in hill villages, was preserved till forests were available to make swiddens. As the land was reduced into agricultural plots, privately owned, this automatically stopped. In this instance, the village or colony solidarity of the young persons suffered heavy economic and social deprivation due to conditions of agriculture. The threat to village solidarity came also from two other sources. Firstly, some colonies, Gubabandha and Ekpada, are composed of colonists from two or three or even more villages. Moreover, a few colonies like Gubabandha may be composed of two or more tribes. Pauri, Cherenga and Benikar in this condition colonies present different physical composition from the old exclusive Pauri villages. When Pauri colonists from a hill village have stayed in an exclusive colony together they have preserved the old village solidarity. But Pauri Dhans' pointing to the solidarity of the hill villages, in regard to, the 'Matiah' section of these villages. Secondly, unlike in a hill village, the colonists are not bound to pay allegiance to any definite section in the colony for the rights in land and other fac-

ilities. As in the case of a hill village, the old village solidarity and all owe loyalty directly to the 'Chereng' section, present in the colony. There is no solid dominant 'Matiah' section having first preference in the colony, the 'Parja' round it, and hence the old village solidarity of the hill village may be lacking. Where the fiction of this old 'Matiah-Parja' relationship persists, because of a total transplantation of the village, in that case the village solidarity of the old type appears to hold on in the colony. Thus, both the decrease in old village solidarity and weakening of the position of former Headman of a Pauri village, in fact the spokesman and leader of the 'Matiah' section, among the colonists, may be rather explained in terms of the altered status of the former status derived wholly from local authority and outside traditional territory, and not merely in terms of settled agriculture and "contacts with outside people" as such. This may be further reinforced by direct and daily contacts with the authority of government officials, visiting the colony. In the colony the old village solidarity and the old position of the Headman and Priests in the colony will be impaired still more. That my interpretation of the dynamics of this change is basically sound is supported

by Patnaik's following observation in 1950, when shifting cultivation was in full swing at Deulasinga colony. 'The position of Naek (Headman) is already being lowered and his voice is becoming less and less effective in the management of village affairs' (1952, p. 24).

Coming to the ritual life, we find the colonists prone to observe the ceremonial sowing preferably in the low land (terrace) plots, as at Derula, and only if they do not have any, then in a 'gura' or upland plot, the last choice being the swidden. This agriculture (low and or upland) has been given the highest ritual importance even when a swidener was there. At Tasra we have seen always this ceremony was observed in a swidden even when a man cultivated a terrace plot. At Tasra 'Makar' or the first day of the M... (February) was not celebrated in any way. But at Gualandha (and in other colonies) on this Hindu festival day some work was stopped and the colony went out hunting.

For meeting the colonists needs a Government shop stocks all sorts of things from clothes, utensils to luxury articles and maintains a free Dispensary with a... The patients at the dispensary are not only the Pauri Bhuyan and other colonists but the officials stationed at places upto Mahulpada and the people of nearby villages. Even if no pro-

portion of the Pauri Bhuyan patients... even I may accept Patnaik's assumption that the main body of the invariably high number of patients of digestive diseases came from the Pauri Bhuyan population. But this Pauri population then is from among the colonists and only rarely from the hills as I know from my personal experiences as also from the Compounder. If the digestive patients be mainly from among the colonists, both Pauri and Cheringa Kolha, as is more probable, the reason seems to be not far. Patnaik has already noted that the colonists did not grow vegetables (1957, p.8). I was told at Derula that without shifting cultivation they might not have enough vegetables and this was confirmed from Tasra evidences. Without vegetables and fruits and with a rather exclusive rice diet it is quite possible that the colonists suffered from digestive troubles. That a change from shifting cultivation to settled low land or terrace cultivation... the cost of growing vegetables is also evident from the Abor Hills. Assam according to Dr. B. S. Gata.

Lastly, not to leave a very important change in the field of education it must be pointed out that colonization has opened the gate to literacy and a wider mental horizon for the younger generation. A Sevashram School of Lower Primary standard was established soon

after the starting of the Dakshina colony on the 21st January 1950. Another Sevashrama School now extended to a higher standard, was opened on the 19th March 1952 at Dhakamunda. Mostly boys attend the schools. Children are spared reluctantly by parents for studies, more so in the case of girls. It appears not only that the Pannu Bhayyan and the Cherenga Koha are not convinced of the benefits of literacy and school education especially for the girls, but also that the economic demands of the family on the school-age children are as yet heavy.

Conclusion

The changes and trends outlined above were observed and inferred on data available in 1957 and it is necessary to find out how much of these have got crystallized or been arrested and even reversed, through all these years.

Comprehensive analyses of changes attendant on change-over to agriculture can be undertaken only when natural history of some colonies, especially Pannu Bhayyan and other composite one is compiled.

This paper has been a preliminary attempt to trace the changes and trends of development by supplying a sketch of the natural history of Government-sponsored colonies or shifting cultivators.

Now, however, a few words on the conclusions given below on the process of change from shifting

cultivation to agriculture do emerge in our study. It was not our objective to single out the various causative factors in these changes, but rather to chart the course of associated changes in the socio-cultural-economic set-up. For valuation of these conclusions we may not only turn to older colonies in the area, but also to the newer ones. One of the latter is a Government colony, the Chhera, near Kalyanpur, engaged in cultivation in Tasta-hal village, a few miles away from Guralnandha established in 1951-52 by a feeder group from Tasta. This author expects to study this colony in the near future.

1 In spite of inertia, reserve and suspicion of the Government intentions, the shifting cultivators have gradually accepted living in colonies. This has hastened the process of change-over to agriculture already taking roots in their self-sponsored attempts in the valley villages and even in the hill villages to a limited extent.

2 Whereas in their old villages, almost all of the agricultural plots were occupied by the 'Majari' section, in Government colonies all irrespective of Majari or Pannu Bhayyan, enjoy equal shares in reclaimed land.

3 In the valley villages private property rights in agricultural land were first recognised and enforced by the state and in the Government colonies these were further extended, as all cultivated lands were privately owned Co-operative

labour and other forms of co-operation lost their importance. Due to differential size of holding of land in the valley village as also in the early phase of settlement in the colonies, economic opportunities tended to be concentrated in a few families. Thus, a category of well-to-do farmers gradually emerged, who formed an incipient economic class, unknown in the hills.

5. In view of the Government's practice of allocating land to individual families irrespective of their being nuclear or joint families, there has been a tendency for grown up sons to part from their parents much earlier than in the hills.

Lone widows can no longer maintain a household of their own as in the hills, because land is owned only by male heads of families.

6. The authority of the Headman and Priests, as well as the village solidarity declined primarily because the Mania section did not enjoy pre-eminence position as first settlers, land being granted now by the Government. Compensation for land was also tended to go against village solidarity.

7. The Pauri Bhuiyan as a whole gained higher political status in the process of decision-making and in showing the benefits and facilities when compared with other tribes who came to settle down in the colonies.

8. The tendency of the Pauri Bhuiyan to consider themselves as a clean Hindu caste obtained further impetus in the valley and colonies, as in rituals, economic activities, dress, language, education, etc., they would imitate higher castes and had a caste.

References and Notes

1 and 2. 'Manali' are descendants of first settler's sons, age, while 'Parajas' are the immigrants incorporated in the village.

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STUMBLING-BLOCKS

G. N. DAS

(With special reference to Tribal Welfare)

We have professed that community development movement would be a "means of involving the people in the process of development programmes". For, without the involvement of the people any programme of development will not only be fruitless but may even become meaningless for the people. The target is to cover the entire country under the community development movement by the end of the Third Plan period (1965-66) and in pursuance

thereof community development blocks have been or are being started in all parts of the country. In some States as in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, etc., there are large tracts inhabited by tribals and inconsideration of the comparative backwardness of these people and relative under-developed state of the regions intended development programmes are planned for them which envisages a larger outlay, almost double that of the community development



"Set-off" Canal in Rural Subdivision (Sundergarh District)

blocks and these blocks are called tribal development blocks, distinguish them from the community development blocks. Tribal development blocks have been or are proposed to be started in areas where the tribal concentration is 50 per cent or more in the total population. In the State of Orissa some 112 out of 307 blocks will be tribal development blocks which reflect the high percentage of tribals in the State's population.

2 The tribals generally are more backward educationally, economically and socially than the general population. In Orissa some of the tribal communities are extremely backward living in abject poverty, ignorance, and squalor. Some of them such as the Langas, Sauras, Kolas and Dongras, Kondhs are still leading a primitive life in isolated pockets of dense forests and inaccessible hills. They do not understand the regional language Odia but have their own dialects which they use both at home and outside. They are shy and seclusive by nature. Such then are the people for whom the tribal development blocks are intended to carry out development programmes.

3 For introducing the tribal development block programme, in ordinary practice, a varying period of pre-inten-

sive or shadow phase and the intensive community development stage I phase precede the launching of the tribal development programme. The tribal development officers being generally located out of the way hilly areas, the bulk of the block personnel, especially village level workers have to be introduced before they can be found in the day to day areas and start the tribal development blocks. In the first place they are not willing to be posted in these areas and as such they try in all possible ways to avoid being sent there. If they are compelled to go, they start with a grievance which they nurse till they succeed to get out of the exile. Secondly, they go to work among and for the tribals without any idea about the traditions, the ways of life and the likes and dislikes of these people. They do not possess any knowledge of the tribal dialects, nor cherish any desire to acquire knowledge thereof, but manage to have intercourse with them through interpreters who are generally the money-lenders that exploit and exploit the tribals. The dangers of such a process are two chief ones, a total disorientation. Lastly, they bring with them ideas regarding development programmes which they have imbibed from a their experience in the community development blocks in plain areas for comparatively advanced people. They are often found to be obsessed with the

belief that the schematic pattern is inviolable and that it would be sacrilege to deviate from the pattern.

4. Two to five, and at times more years roll by before the tribal development program is replaced by a community development pattern. The funds take the shape of more funds under the same schematic pattern and more personnel. By this time the USA pattern has set itself rigidly in, and the new arrivals in the block personnel are none different in their background and also reaction to their posting in the far off alien surroundings. They come

to their 'Block Colony', and together they have a community of background, language, culture, and training. They are different and having little or no idea about the people they have come to serve. No research and survey has been conducted to give them an idea of the people, their ways of life, manners and customs, their reactions to the programmes and therefore executed, their wants and aspirations, their felt needs and so forth. The one impelling factor for their effort is to see that the funds under the schematic pattern are used as quickly as possible to register a good percentage of utilization



Activities of the Personnel and Staff of the I. B. R. W. Department for Development and Welfare in Tribal Districts

5. The Panchayati Raj innovation has been ushered in and ward members and sarpanches have been thrown up in the process who are to associate themselves with, nay, control and run the Raj. The major 5 of these members are illiterate and ill-informed about the innovation. They nod and mumble in the deliberations of

the newly formed panchayats overawed by the superior looking block personnel and the non-tribals who have brought them into being on the statutory bodies. It is easy for them to be wheedled into thinking that the schematic pattern is but inviolable sanctions brought to bear upon them by the mercy of the block personnel and



Pan Price Shop at Kark, on 'S'haugri' (Dongria Khasi area) in Garo District

the so called leaders. Their traditional panchayats continue to function in these areas, and in many cases these very members of the statutory panchayats are the guiding forces there, but with what a difference? They understand the purposes of the traditional institutions and the ways of their working, whereas the very persons are nonentity in the other.

6. The staffing pattern in the tribal development blocks follows closely in the foot steps of the community development with the difference that some more extension officers are this time in the list. The block is not considered to have come into existence without all the staff in position like poor, ill-equipped centre that is not only overawed by the presence of the large official body, but verily confused by the variety of activities they want to start simultaneously, each in his own field. No wonder that he finds this too much for his simple and unsophisticated mind and feels baffled and helpless. He is unable to divide his mind between what he thinks to be his most urgent necessity and the myriads of schemes unfolded to him as being necessary for implementation all together. The puffal involved in a case of this kind has been imitatively stared by 'Sant' Indira Gandhi.

our Information and Broadcasting Minister in the Union Government. "Once a farmer loses faith in a programme, he does not look for reasons or excuses and it becomes very difficult to reach out to him again and to overcome his suspicions." To the tribal with an unsophisticated mind and conservative outlook, this applies with greater force and in the case of the more backward and primitive of them it's importance cannot be over-emphasised. A particular tribal community may not, for instance, be interested in cattle breeding and in fact there may be little scope for that in the area. If a scheme for upgrading of cattle population be introduced with as much vehemence and gusto as the Veterinary Extension Officer can command, it is not likely to evoke response from the people and in the end the poor performance may reel on the people themselves so that they will be branded as apathetic, lazy and non-co-operative. While on the other hand, if we work off in the people the feeling of indifference to the block programme for say horticulture in which not only there may be tremendous scope in the area, but great enthusiasm among the people, it will be a disservice to the bad corn driving the good out of circulation. And not

rately that, it may lead to lowering the block personnel in the estimation of the people and vice versa. This will be fatal indeed to the entire programme.

7. The problem of the 'leaky vessel' is the prime problem in tribal areas. Through the tribal development block programme resources are pumped into the tribal area by direct and indirect means. The tribal will be put well on the way to economic salvation. The tribal suffers untold exploitation at the hands of the unscrupulous exploiter, both non-tribal and tribal who dupes him in a variety of ways. In his age-old superstition he will have to propitiate angry Gods and demons to escape their wrath. Sacrifices are needed to appease them. He grows oil-seeds, turmeric, orange, banana and fruits of various kinds. The cunning exploiter has watched for his dire needs and weaknesses like addiction to drink and advanced him small amounts of loan in return for which he can collect a little cash. He has a very, very small sum. The land of the tribal cannot pass into others' hands without specific permission from appropriate authorities of Government but it passes all the same, a tribal may be transacted and he clears made at great personal risk and toil on the part of the tribals. All the granaries of the exploiter from his unauthor-

ised possession. The tribal collects forest produce ranging from honey to tamarind, but the exploiter takes it for some grains, spices, clothes, etc. and makes his profit out of these by way of barter. In actual the tribal is always the losing side. Nearly all the efforts made through the block programme are making tribals richer and leave the tribal with empty 'leaky vessel'.

8. The tribal economy is forest and agriculture economy. Lands recorded and unrecorded and the privileges enjoyed by the tribal in the forests comprise of nearly all his assets in addition to his physical abilities. The block programme, alas! has no concern with these vital matters. Naturally, but to the great disadvantage of the tribal the Block Development Officer and his team of officers are not able to help him in these fields. The Block Development Officer can at best express his helplessness in the matter of lease of land in favour of the tribal and plenty more of it in the matter of unauthorised occupation of the tribal lands. In regard to forest matters the Block Development Officer's helplessness knows no bounds. These are none of his concerns. Little wonder, therefore, that he knows pretty little about the land laws and the forest

laws and the rights and privileges of the tribals in these matters.

I am reminded at this stage of a small experience in a tribal village a few years ago. Many items of development programme had come through in this village and I had been asked to see them. In course of discussions with the villagers I discovered that in spite of all this, they still nursed a sore feeling of grievance. Some of them, landless and poverty stricken people, had been making a continuous effort to get a piece of jungle land for cultivation. Years had rolled by but they were still where they began, and they were hearing that the land would be given to a "Sowcar" from another village. "We and our forefathers before us managed quite well without the well and the road" they said. I felt like the very ground under the block programme giving way.

9. We have for a long time been harping on the development-workers being inspired by missionary zeal, and we

deplore the fact that they do not have it. From the preceding discussions it would be easy to see that in the block set-up it would be futile to look for this otherwise rare quality in the block personnel, rare exceptions apart. They simply do not have a mission. They have, the majority of them, passed from the hubbub of student life to the humdrum of family life. They never wanted to be sent to the tribal area away from their near and dear ones, but they had no other go. It is not their fault that they did not know the tribal language and their ways of life. Nobody told them about it nor guided them to acquire it when they lived among the tribals. It was less than an incidental for them. The eternal object placed before them was the percentage of expenditure out of the schematic provision. In short almost everything is asking for the manifestation and growth of the much sought after missionary zeal.

10. Having said so much on the stumbling blocks, let me

record my humble suggestions for overcoming them at least in some measure if not wholly.

At the same time should be laid stress on conducting surveys and research programmes in the tribal development and prospective tribal development blocks with the help of technically qualified persons to find out about the tribal communities living in the block area, their ways of life, customs and traditions, values, mores, diseases and diseases and related ones, social problems, and other factors taken in the past. In the case of the prospective tribal development blocks, apart from the tribal population, the potential blocks, which in and around study are necessary to be carried out. The surveys and studies are carried out by established research institutions or tribal orientation study centres established in the States.

(b) The Block personnel, particularly the I.D.O., S.E.O. and A.E.O. must be selected carefully. The anxiety to post all the officers according to the schematic pattern must be avoided. To start with the H.D.O., S.I.O. and A.I.O. only may be sent.

They should be required to acquire a working knowledge of the vernacular tribal languages of the area say within three months of their posting during which period this should be prescribed as one of the achievements to be shown. Officers who pass the post bed test should in addition to the usual cash reward earn an increment in salary.

Before sending up the first report of the Block personnel, they should be required to undergo the tribal orientation training.

(c) The same personnel should be selected for the community development and tribal work project blocks. In other words, although the tribal work project programme need no wait for a precursor of shadow or communal

nity development stage I period, the increased outlay in the case of the tribal development blocks may be allowed say a coverage period of twelve in place of ten years. A slower initial pace may be allowed in the case of the tribal development block. Once the confidence of the tribal is gained, the leeway is more than likely to be made up.

- (d) Multiplicity of programmes should be avoided as a rule. The B. D. O. with a S. I. O. and an A. E. O. will do to start with. They will not only have to educate to inform themselves but apprise the ward members and so on in order to widen their awareness. The launching of the programme may be made in such a manner that it inspires the tribals from confidence to confidence and ever increasing self-reliance. The scope of the programme may be increased as rapidly as it can develop depending on the initial pace. It may not be necessary to have all the extension officers as a rule in each case. For instance where the

scope for starting industries is limited an extension officer, even for group of two blocks may not be necessary.

The cost on establishment need be minimised as far as possible and to start with temporary quarters may be provided to the first arrivals of the block personnel. These houses may follow as much as possible the local pattern particularly in wall painting, decoration, etc.

- (e) Not only respect will have to be shown to the traditional institutions and sentiments of the tribals, but as much of it as possible shall be utilised for the conveyance of new ideas to the tribals. For instance, with suitable literature it should be possible to proceed through the traditional dance parties or village akhadas how the tribals are being exploited in various ways and how they can stem it by simple and easy means.
- (f) The B. D. O. shall not be, as he at present is, a mere development officer. He should be a multipurpose man and shall be able to

give the much needed relief in Revenue and Forest matters. For this it should be possible to delegate some of the revenue and forest powers to him within the frame work of the Revenue and Forest Laws under the overall control of the Collector.

- (g) It is held in some quarters that economic progress is the insurance for the backward classes people. On this assumption it is said that implementation of schemes for the economic welfare of such people need only be given after the fact. Experience has revealed that the problem of the leaky vessel continues even after successful implementation of economic schemes. The tribal people for whom such programmes are launched cannot enjoy the benefits thereof to an appreciable extent and they are not able to withstand the impact of exploiters at whose hands they continue to be dissipated in variety of ways as before.

It may be of interest to make mention here of an instance of Ceylon. Some years ago a comprehensive pro-

gramme of resettlement of a very backward tribe of that country, The Veddas, was taken up in central Ceylon and successfully executed according to the scheme. Virgin soil was reclaimed, irrigation facilities provided and the beneficiaries were given neat little houses set in a half an acre homestead farm provided with fence for growing vegetables and fruits. Each family was given a small poultry unit to be run on the homestead. Agricultural implements, seeds and manure were given and all that the people were expected to do was to move their hands and legs and make the land yield the crop. Thus they did but it was soon that they were not able to withstand the parasites who followed them there and slowly but deftly led them into their snare. The Veddas relapsed into their lazy habits, passed their lands to them for cultivation and consequential grabbing of the lion's share in the yield. Luxury goods consumed their earnings and they found themselves in want again for necessities of life.

(f) Guide lines should be suggested for formation of programmes on proper lines. Efforts and resources should not be frittered away on unessentials, but concentrated on essentials according to a priority drawn up in consultation with the peoples' representatives.

(j) The need for drawing in the peoples' representatives, and helping and guiding them on right lines to be able to help themselves in the present set up cannot be over-emphasised. The traditional panchayats and the functions they discharge and

influence they wield over the tribals cannot be, lost sight of. If need be the existing laws may be amplified or modified to draw them in.

(k) Tribal Development Blocks should be allowed to pool their resources for area development and for embarking upon ventures on a wider compass. The schematic pattern should not stand in the way of joining hands for mutual benefit and for harnessing resources which individually they would not have the means to handle.

BRIEF REPORT ON THE IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBAL & RURAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT FOR THE PERIOD ENDING OCTOBER 1965

1. Education

(a) A committee namely, 'Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Hostels and Non-Official Organisations Advisory Board' has been formed to ensure prompt disposal of applications for grants to the Non-Official Organisations and Hostels. The term of the Board shall be for a period of one year and it shall ordinarily meet at least once in every six months. The first meeting of the Board was held on the 15th October 1965 with the Director, Tribal Welfare, in the Chair.

(b) For spread of Secondary Education among Scheduled Tribes the following Ashram Schools have been upgraded to High School standard in addition to seven established earlier:—

- (1) Dengula (Sundargarh district).
- (2) Mathambada (Keonjhar district).
- (3) Chandikhol (Cuttack district).
- (4) Bisinihakari (Cuttack district).
- (5) Daringbadi (Phulbani district).
- (6) Bhojpur (Sambalpur district).

(7) Bijoypalli (Sambalpur district).

(8) Kujendri (Koraput district).

(c) During 1964-65, 1,455 students from different Ashram Schools appeared at the Middle School Certificate Examination and of them 976 students came out successful.

(d) During the quarters under report 319 Scheduled Tribe, 335 Scheduled Caste and 617 Other Backward Classes students were awarded Post-matric Scholarship for prosecuting their studies.

(e) **Comprehensive School**—It has been decided to locate the Comprehensive School at Gobindpally in Koraput district. The Ashram School at Govindapally will be developed into the Comprehensive School (Special Ashram School) to impart industrial and technical training, e. g., welding work of machine, black-smithy, etc., instead of present emphasis on rural crafts to provide suitable rehabilitation facilities to Scheduled Tribe families who would be displaced on account of the coming up of

Balimela Project and industrial complex. Accordingly, sanction has been accorded for construction of the buildings. One post of A. D. W. O. and R. W. I, too, have been created.

2. Meetings and conferences

(a) The Sixteenth Meeting of the Tribes Advisory Council was held on the 10th September with the Chief Minister in the Chair. The Council discussed various suggestions made by the members for the welfare of the Tribal population in the State.

(b) The District Welfare Officers Conference was held on the 3rd and 4th September 1965 with the Chief Minister in the Chair. Inaugurating the Conference, the Chief Minister stressed the importance of the role that the officers of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department have to play in execution of Welfare Schemes in each district.

(c) The Fifth Meeting of the Evaluation Sub-Committee of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department was held on the 2nd September with the Secretary in the Chair. Progress achieved in respect of various schemes and the ways and means to facilitate the execution of Schemes by removing the bottle-necks were discussed in the meeting.

(d) A meeting of the Post-matric Scholarship Board was held on the 14th October 1965 with the Secretary, Tribal & Rural Welfare Department in the Chair to consider the procedure to be followed for award of Post-matric Scholarships to fresh applicants most of whom belong to lower income groups. It was decided that in award of Post-matric Scholarships, those applicants whose parents annual income is within Rs. 500 are to be given first priority on the basis of marks obtained by them in the last examinations.

3. Purchase and Sale Fair Price Shop

The Purchase and Sale Fair Price Shops opened so far are functioning well and the tribals are getting habituated to these shops and the number of tribals coming to these shops to sell their produce is increasing. Vegetable seeds have been distributed in various places and Kondhs are also given a first-hand idea of growing vegetable plants.

4. Administrative set-up

The post of Deputy Director (Headquarters) which was kept in abeyance was filled up in the month of September 1965 with a view to assist the Director, Tribal & Rural Welfare, for better supervision and administration of the field work. Besides, to ensure smooth exe-

cution of welfare programmes at the block level the post of Welfare Extension Officers were created at different blocks in the reorganised set up.

5. Collection of Statistics

The Statistical Section of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department is manned by one Junior Statistician and two Statistical investigators. The post of the Junior Statistician is a gazetted one.

In course of administration and execution of Welfare Programmes various statistical information are needed which help in many way for better implementation of the present programmes and formulation of future programmes on a sound basis. The Statistical Section is entrusted with the task of collection, compilation and scrutinisation of these statistics. The section is also entrusted with the task of compiling the 'Half-yearly' progress report on Plan Schemes and the Annual Administration Report of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department.